

Representing the Archbishop of Trier: portraits of Kuno von Falkenstein

Mateusz Grzęda

Before mimetic likeness was commonly accepted as an obligatory form of representation (an instance that occurred only in the fifteenth century), its appearance in the visual arts must have been considered an innovative solution, reaching beyond the scope of traditional medieval portraits. A conventionalized and generic likeness characteristic of medieval portraiture was part of a complex semantic system that used signs, such as coats of arms, costume, colour, and so forth, as basic forms of identification. Individualized physiognomies of influential personalities, which appeared in fourteenth-century portraits did not mark a particular change in this matter; quite the opposite, they were subjected to this system in a way similar to conventionalized representations. The change that occurred seems indeed to have been subtle: sovereigns who showed the authority of their power using their visages did not break the custom of referring to models and normalized categories reiterated in medieval tradition. Rather, they insisted on the coherence of their natural, in-born qualities reflected in physiognomy and stable norms of social order presented in signs of identity and pictorial conventions. Thus, barely escaping from established patterns in the pictorial tradition of the Middle Ages, an important step was made towards a more profound binding of the individual with the idea of power, and hence with the office fulfilled by this individual. This intrinsic substitution of generic likeness with the individualized one was conditioned by a particular attention that the late medieval audience paid to the human body. The body, and the face in particular, was at this time commonly considered a window to the soul in which specific virtues and vices, character traits and inner qualities of a person could be recognized. For this reason, in all cases where sculpted or painted physiognomies attempted to perpetuate real facial features, we should inquire about the implications of such a solution.

It is in this context that we might examine the portraits of Kuno (Konrad) von Falkenstein (ca. 1320–88), archbishop of Trier and elector of the Holy Roman Empire, for not only do they present a homogenous group of works that express the ideology of a highly self-conscious and ambitious patron but also, confronted with literary descriptions, offer us a unique opportunity to penetrate the phenomenon of the birth of individualized portraiture.¹ As an archbishop who was entrusted with a

¹ Portraits of Kuno von Falkenstein have been discussed briefly by Harald Keller, 'Die Entstehung des Bildnisses am Ende des Mittelalters', *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 3, 1939, 350–351, and examined in detail by Franz J. Ronig, 'Die Bildnisse Kunos von Falkenstein. Typ oder Porträt?', in: Anton Legner, ed., *Die Parler und die Schöne Stil 1350–1400. Europäische Kunst unter den Luxemburgern. Ein Handbuch zur Ausstellung des Schnütgen-*

position of authority and oversight over one of the most important German archdioceses, as well as a sovereign of the Electorate of Trier (German *Kurfürstentum Trier* or *Kurtrier*, known also by its English name *Treves*) deeply engaged in secular and political issues, Kuno von Falkenstein played a significant role in the Holy Roman Empire.² He descended from an ancient aristocratic lineage of the counts of Falkenstein related to the influential house of the Bolanden counts, and from his earliest years had been prepared for an ecclesiastical career. Among his ancestors were also the counts of Falkenstein-Münzenberg, who in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries counted among the most powerful families of the Empire. Its members kept offices of seneschals (*Reichstrucksess*) and bailiffs (*Erbkämmerer*) of the Empire. In 1327 pope John XXII endowed Kuno 'for the sake of his noble origin' with an expectative for canonry and a benefice in the cathedral of Mainz, where he subsequently fulfilled the offices of a scholastic and a provost. Later, as a resourceful administrator and politician he became a sword-arm of the archbishop of Trier, Boemund II, who appointed him in 1360 his coadjutor. Two years later, according to the will of the ailing Boemund, Kuno was nominated to the office of the archbishop of Trier, and held it until 1388, when he resigned, leaving the office to his grandson, Werner von Falkenstein. What is more, in 1363 he was appointed as a coadjutor by the archbishop of Cologne, Engelbert III. After his death in 1368, the cathedral chapter of Cologne nominated Kuno the administrator of the archdiocese which soon let him fill the post of the local archbishop with his other grandson, count Frederick von Saarwerden. In spite of this, Kuno took the function of the administrator of the archdiocese of Cologne up to the death of Frederick in 1371. Thus, during a couple of years, from 1368 to 1371 two Electorates (being the most powerful political and territorial entities in the Rhineland) remained practically in his hands. During his long political career Kuno, together with local counts and magnates, made attempts to consolidate the autonomy and independence of his territories from the emperor. At an early stage of his political activity he supported Louis the Bavarian, and after his death advocated for Günther of Schwarzburg, the anti-king of Charles IV. Later he reconciled with Charles and supported his policy so long as it brought him tangible benefits. In 1376 he supported the election to the office of the Holy Roman King Charles's IV son, Wenceslaus, though this happened not without a colossal fee paid to Kuno by the emperor. Kuno's political and ecclesiastical activity also had an impact on his artistic patronage. Works funded by him, such as the stalls in the cathedral of St. Bartholomew in Frankfurt am Main (ca. 1354), the tomb of the archbishop of Mainz Peter von Aspelt (d. 1320) in the cathedral (hypothetically linked with Kuno, who in 1346–54 acted as a procurator of the archbishop of Mainz, Heinrich III von Vineburg) and a group of illuminated

Museums in der Kunsthalle Köln, exhib. cat., vol. 3, Köln: Museen der Stadt Köln, 1978, 211–214.

² For basic information on Kuno see: Peter Moraw, 'Konrad II. von Falkenstein', in: *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 12, Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1979, 530; Erwin Gatz, ed., *Die Bischöfe des Heiligen Römischen Reiches 1198 bis 1448. Ein Biographisches Lexikon*, Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2001, 803–809, Hans Joachim Jacobs, 'Kuno von Falkenstein. Persönlichkeit und Abbild', *Archiv für mittelhochdeutsche Geschichte*, 49, 1997, 26–30.

manuscripts created by the workshop of illuminators in Trier (the so called *Falkenstein-Werkstatt*), all share the same retrospective tendency, referring both stylistically and compositionally to the idealizing art of the early fourteenth century, and also – in the case of manuscripts – to the tradition of Carolingian and Ottonian art.³



Figure 1 Figure representing Kuno von Falkenstein on his tombstone, ca. 1388, Koblenz, St. Castor

The consistency with which the same type of individualized physiognomy appears in many works commissioned by Kuno seems therefore to be by no means accidental. We know of six portraits of this influential hierarch. All of them, except the conventionalized likeness on the double shillings (German *Doppelschillinge*)⁴ issued by him in 1362–64, represent the archbishop in a more or less individualized manner. Particularly astonishing is the likeness of Kuno sculpted ca. 1388 on his tomb in the church of St. Castor in Koblenz (fig. 1).⁵ The almost three-dimensional

³ See Robert Suckale, *Die Hofkunst Kaiser Ludwigs des Bayern*, München: Hirmer, 1993, 171, footnote 2; Jiří Fajt, Markus Horsch, 'Karl IV. und das Heilige Römische Reich. Zwischen Prag und Luxemburg – eine Landbrücke in den Westen', in: Jiří Fajt, ed., *Karl IV. Kaiser von Gottes Gnaden. Kunst und Repräsentation des Hauses Luxemburg 1310-1437*, exhib. cat., München-Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2007, 382–383, see also Jacobs, 'Kuno von Falkenstein', 30–36 (who does not agree with the thesis about Kuno's involvement in making the tomb of Peter von Aspelt); Christine Beier, *Buchmalerei für Metz und Trier im 14. Jahrhundert. Die illuminierten Handschriften aus der Falkenstein-Werkstatt*, Langwaden: Bernardus-Verlag, 2003.

⁴ See Alfred Noss, *Die Münzen von Trier*, vol. 1, Bonn: P. Hanstein, 1916, nos 56, 64, 71, 73, 152, 155, 189, 190, Ronig, 'Die Bildnisse', 212.

⁵ See Ronig, 'Die Bildnisse', 211, Jacobs, 'Kuno von Falkenstein', 31 on the tombstone see Barbara Bott, 'Das Grabmal des Erzbischofs von Trier Kuno II. von Falkenstein', in: Anton

figure lying on the sarcophagus situated in the pointed-arch niche represents Kuno in the full splendour of his office, with head placed on a pillow and legs resting on animals, a dog and a lion. His round and plump physiognomy is characterized by a short nose, rather small eyes, slight, pursed lips, and big, protruding ears and a sharply outlined chin. The upper part of the face is surrounded by thick, curly and deeply sculpted hair protruding from out under the richly decorated mitre. The individuality of Kuno's physiognomy is also enhanced by motifs that are not often encountered in medieval sepulchral sculpture north of the Alps: a swollen vein seen on the left temple and half-closed eyes that suggest the presence of the deceased in his bodily form, as a corpse or as a figure taking his last breath. A physiognomy, similar to that of the aforementioned sculpted figure, though much more schematic, can be found in other portraits of Kuno von Falkenstein. It is highly likely that a scene of the Crucifixion adored by St. John, St. Peter, St. Castor and Kuno himself was painted within the niche of his tomb already after the death of the archbishop.⁶ Kuno is here characterized by a round face with plump cheeks, a short nose and a small mouth. This same physiognomy can be also found in earlier works, executed directly for Kuno or with his significant input: in a full-page dedication portrait in the so-called Pericops of Kuno von Falkenstein (ca. 1380, Trier, Treasury of the Cathedral, fig. 2)⁷ and in a *sui generis* identification portrait – a statue deriving from the so called *Schöner Brunnen*, a monumental fountain executed in 1385–96 and placed in the main market of Nuremberg (presently only the upper part of the figure is preserved, held in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg, fig. 3).⁸ Finally, Kuno's seal should be mentioned, for also here we can find a representation of the archbishop shown *in pontificalibus* and characterised by a round face and strikingly protruding ears – the possibility, that here too an attempt was made to render the archbishop's real facial features cannot be excluded.⁹

Legner, *Die Parler*, vol. 1, 249–251; Barbara Bott, 'Zur Grabfigur des Kuno von Falkenstein', in: Anton Legner, *Die Parler*, vol. 4, Köln 1980, 40–43.

⁶ See Ronig, 'Die Bildnisse', 211–212; Jacobs, 'Kuno von Falkenstein', 31.

⁷ See Ronig, 'Die Bildnisse', 212; Jacobs, 'Kuno von Falkenstein', 33–43, see also Beier, *Buchmalerei*, 49–52.

⁸ Franz Ronig, 'Die Statue des Trierer Kurfürsten am „Schönen Brunnen“ in Nürnberg – ein Porträt?', *Landeskundliche Vierteljahrsblätter*, 23, 1977, 131–134; Ronig, 'Die Bildnisse', 212–213; on Schöner Brunnen see Hubert Herkommer, 'Heilsgeschichtliches Programm und Tugendlehre. Ein Beitrag zur Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte der Stadt Nürnberg am Beispiel des Schönen Brunnens und des Tugendbrunnens', *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg*, 63, 1976, 192–216; Edith Fründt, *Bildwerke aus sieben Jahrhunderten [Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Skulpturen Sammlung]*, vol. 2, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1972, 18–20, nos. 9, 10; Anton Legner, *Die Parler*, vol. 1, 396; 'Head of King Arthur, from the Schöner Brunnen', in: *Gothic and Renaissance Art in Nuremberg 1300-1550*, exhib. cat., New York-Nuremberg-Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1986, 132–135 (Reiner Kaschnitz); 'Prophetenköpfe vom Schönen Brunnen in Nürnberg', in: Fajt, *Karl IV.*, 391–392, no. 128. a-c (Julien Chapuis), state of research wherein.

⁹ See Ronig, 'Die Bildnisse', 212, see also Wilhelm Ewald, ed., *Rheinische Siegel*, vol. 2: *Die Siegel der Erzbischöfe von Trier (956-1795)*, Bonn: Peter Hanstein, 1910, 42.



Figure 2 *Dedication portrait of Kuno von Falkenstein*, fol. 2v, ca. 1380, *Pericops of Kuno von Falkenstein*, Trier, Treasury of the Cathedral

Figure 3 *Statue showing the Archbishop of Trier from the Schöner Brunnen in Nuremberg*, 1385–96, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg

What is of particular interest, is a contemporary, and often cited, description of Kuno's external appearance that was prepared by Tilemann Elhen von Wolfhagen, a notary in Limburg an der Lahn and a chronicler.¹⁰ This description is highly valuable not only because it seems to confirm the mimetic accuracy of the portraits mentioned above – a fact that has been already noted by Harald Keller and Franz Ronig – but gives us also a rare opportunity to examine deeper what role bodily appearance, and particularly physiognomy, played in the fourteenth century. In his *Limburg Chronicle* (German *Die Limburger Chronik*) written in 1378–1402 Tilemann characterized Kuno von Falkenstein as follows:

You can thus be appraised of the physiognomy and appearance (*phyzonomien unde gestalt*) of the aforementioned Sir Kuno, for I saw him often and

¹⁰ On Tilemann Elhen von Wolfhagen see Paul Görlich, 'Ein Limburger Chronist des 14. Jahrhunderts: Tilemann Elhen und sein Werk', *Hessische Heimat*, 47, 1996, 89–92; Heinz Maibach, 'Tilemann Elhen von Wolfhagen: Anmerkungen zu Leben und Werk des bekannten Limburger Chronisten', in: Christoph Waldecker and Adolf Morlang, eds, *Limburg im Fluss der Zeit: Schlaglichter aus 1100 Jahren Stadtgeschichte*, Limburg: Magistrat der Kreisstadt, 2010, 113–127; idem, 'Tilemann Elhen von Wolfhagen. Zu Leben und Werk des bekannten Limburger Chronisten', in: idem, *Vorträge, Aufsätze, Veröffentlichungen. Zusammengestellt von Monika Jung*, Plaidt: Cardamina Verlag, 2011, 11–22.

experienced his character and some singularities of his temperament. He had a marvellously strong body and figure, and bones. He had a big head with bristly, curly and dark hair, a broad face with plump cheeks, a bold gaze, a modest mouth with thick lips, his nose was broad with big nostrils and was cambered in the middle. He had a big jaw and high forehead, and he also had a big chest and reddish circles under his eyes. He stood on his feet as a lion. And had good gestures towards his friends, and when he was angry he bloated his cheeks, in such a manner that they pulsated, and this showed his grandeur and wisdom and not wickedness. For, as Master Aristotle says in the fourth book of Ethics: 'Non irasci, in quibus oportet, insipientis esse'. Which means: 'The one who is not angry when it is right, is deprived of proper and wise judgment'.¹¹

The accuracy of the description as well as its authenticity, confirmed by the author's personal experience (*want ich in dicke gesehen unde geprufet han in sime wesen unde in mancher siner manirunge*) shows that the chronicler intended to provide a reader with the reliable account about the archbishop. However, it is not the only description of an external appearance that we encounter in Tilemann's *Chronicle*. There are, indeed, eight descriptions of people active contemporarily in the Rhine area (all of them are related to events occurring between 1360 and 1386), of which six persons are characterized positively and two negatively.¹² Their exactitude shows that the chronicler was extraordinarily interested in the appearance of important personalities with whom he personally met. Nevertheless, all these descriptions are based on a certain pattern. Wolfgang Haubrichs has indicated that in constructing

¹¹ Present author's translation. 'Item nu saltu wißen phyzonomen unde gestalt hern Conen vurgenant, want ich in dicke gesehen unde geprufet han in sime wesen unde in mancher siner manirunge. He was ein herlich stark man von libe unde wol gepersoniret unde groß von allem gelune, unde hatte ein groß heubt mit eime struben widem brunen krulle, ein breit antlitze mit pußenden backen, ein scharp menlich gesichte, einen bescheiden mont mit glefsen etzlicher maße dicke; di nase was breit, mit gerumeden naselochern, di nase was ime mitten nider gedruket; mit eime großen kinne unde mit einer hohen stirne, unde hatte auch ein groß brost unde rodelfare under sinen augen, unde stont uf sinen beinen als ein lewe, unde hatte gutliche geberde gen sinen frunden, unde wanne daz he zornig was, so pußeden unde floderten ime sine backen unde stonden ime herlichen unde wislichen unde nit obel. Want k der meister Aristoteles spricht in dem virden buche Ethicorum: 'Non irasci, in quibus oportet, insipientis esse'. Daz heißet also: Wer nit umb not zorn enhait, daz enist nit eins wisen rait', Arthur Wyss, ed., *Die Limburger Chronik des Tilemann Elhen von Wolfhagen* (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Deutsche Chroniken, IV, I), Hannover: Hanh, 1883, 51, see also the translation into modern German: Christian Daniel Vogel, ed., *Die Limburger Chronik mit einer Einleitung und erläuternden Anmerkungen*, Marburg 1828, 46–47 and Ronig, 'Die Bildnisse', 213–214.

¹² For more on this subject see: Wolfgang Haubrichs, 'Habitus corporis. Die Leiblichkeit als Problem einer historischen Semantik des Mittelalters. Ein Beispiel physiognomischer Körperdarstellung in der Limburger Chronik', in: Klaus Ridder, Otto Langer, eds, *Körperinszenierungen in mittelalterlicher Literatur: Kolloquium am Zentrum für interdisziplinäre Forschung der Universität Bielefeld, 18. bis 20. März 1999*, Berlin: Weidler, 2002, 27–30.

them Tilemann paid special attention to faces, hair and noses. Nor did he escape repetitions. As *wol gepersoniert* records not only Kuno, but also his relative Frederick von Saarwerden. *Stark von libe* characterizes Kuno as it does a Johann von Limburg, and a superlative, *groß*, is ascribed to Kuno as well as to Frederick von Saarwerden and a certain Frederick von Hatzstein. As Haubrichs has shown, Tilemann's particular fascination with the physical appearance of important people, their physiognomies in particular, was motivated by his interest in the 'science' of physiognomy – the ability to recognize an individual's inner qualities and character traits by interpreting that person's facial features.¹³ This 'science' – or rather set of rules – enjoyed great popularity in the later Middle Ages, shared not only among intellectuals but among a broader number of 'non-professional' readers such as courtiers, literary men, medics, and so forth. It spread easily through short and intelligible treatises used as handbooks or mirrors of princes. The most popular was the *Secretum secretorum*, or the *Secret of Secrets*, a work then ascribed to Aristotle, and, with all likelihood, well known to Tilemann.¹⁴ It is therefore not surprising that Kuno's literary portrait is closely linked to his physical characteristics, in which traits such as wisdom and proneness to anger are emphasized. What should be stressed is the fact that anger appears here not as a vice or a weakness, but as a true virtue that shows 'his grandeur and wisdom and not wickedness' (*stonden ime herlichen unde wislichen unde nit obel*), a fact which is here accentuated by a quotation from Aristotle's *Ethics*. One can also wonder – even if it has not been stated explicitly within the text – whether Kuno's proneness to anger might not have been associated with one of the four temperaments, namely the choleric. According to the

¹³ Haubrichs, '*Habitus corporis*', 30–31.

¹⁴ This is testified by the *Limburg chronicle* which reads: '(...) als Aristoteles der heidensche meister spricht in deme buche daz da heisset *Regimen principum*: 'Facta preterita certa dant elocumena futurorum'. Daz sprichet also: Die werke, die iczunt genwortiglichen sind geschen, sollent dir hernamales sicher lere gebende sin', Wyss, *Die Limburger Chronik*, 41, see Haubrichs, '*Habitus corporis*', 31, the literature on the 'science' of physiognomy and *Secretum secretorum* is vast, to the most important publications concerning the subject may be included: Leo Jordan, 'Physiognomische Abhandlungen', *Romanische Forschungen*, 29, 1911, 681–720; Fritz Neubert, 'Die volkstümlichen Anschauungen über Physiognomik in Frankreich bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters', *Romanische Forschungen*, 29, 1911, 557–679; Mario Grignaschi, 'La diffusion du 'Secretum secretorum' (Sir-al.- 'Asrar) dan's l'Europe Occidentale', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age*, 55, 1980, 7–70; Joseph Ziegler, 'Text and Context: On the Rise of Physiognomic Thought in the Later Middle Ages', in: Yitzhak Hen, ed., *De sion lex et verbum domini de Hierusalem: Essays on Medieval Law, Liturgy, and Literature in Honor of Amnon Linder*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2001, 159–182; Steven J. Williams, *The Secret of Secrets. The Scholarly Career of a Pseudo-Aristotelian Text in the Latin Middle Ages*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003; idem, 'The Vernacular Tradition of the Pseudo-Aristotelian Secret of Secrets in the Middle Ages. Translations, Manuscripts, Readers', in: Nadia Bray, Loris Sturlese, eds, *Filosofia in volgare nel medioevo. Atti del Convegno della Società Italiana per lo Studio del Pensiero Medievale (SISPM)*, Lecce, 27-29 settembre 2002, Louvain-la-Neuve: Brepols, 2003, 451–482, discussed in the context of medieval portraiture see Stephen Perkinson, *The Likeness of the King. A prehistory of portraiture in Late Medieval France*, Chicago-London: University of Chicago Press, 2009, 68–73.

tradition already established in antiquity, a choleric disposition was characteristic of strong, wise and clever people¹⁵ as well as those who cannot stand injustice,¹⁶ and for this reason it was considered fitting for persons who held a position of power. What is more, due to his physical strength Kuno is compared to a lion, and this is not the only instance when his figure is compared to the animal. In *Gesta Trevirorum* we read that Kuno: '(...) tanquam leo rugiens cum duce Luczenburgensi contra quemdam capitaneum (...), qui totam provinciam disposuit depopulare, cum suo exercitu effugavit, devastavit; et sic patriam ab eorum insultibus cum duce Luczelinburgensi victoriose protexit.'¹⁷ The association of a 'roaring lion' with Kuno here refers to a specific event that took place in 1361 when Kuno, acting as coadjutor of Boemund II, led a military campaign against a certain Philipp, count of Isenburg. In proximity to the castle of Schadeck an der Lahn which belonged to the Electorate of Trier and served the archbishops as a stronghold necessary to exercise control over the surrounding territory, Philipp constructed his own fortified castle and called it Gretenstein (after his wife, Greta). Boemund recognized this as a threat and for this reason Kuno, on his behalf, captured and destroyed the castle.¹⁸ The metaphor of a roaring lion somewhat surprisingly refers here to 1 Pet 5:8 in which the animal stands for the devil, a devourer of Christian souls. In this case, however, it is employed in order to highlight the vigour with which Kuno waged his campaign against Philipp. Interestingly, the same story was recounted in detail in Tilemann von Wolfhagen's *Chronicle* and served the author in creating the image of the prospective archbishop of Trier as a wise and just ruler, capable of maintaining territorial integrity in his land and proving himself to be a powerful and firm man in

¹⁵ See for example William of Conches, who has written: 'Among man too there are some who are of a moderate temperament and of better complexion. They may be recognized by the fact that they are more reasonable, than the rest, more eloquent, more amiable, more cheerful and more ingenious – the sanguine and the choleric', Oxford, Bodleiana, Digby MS 108, fol. 6v, after: Raymond Klibansky, Erwin Panofsky, Fitz Saxl, *Saturn and Melancholy. Studies in the History of Natural Philosophy, Religion and Art*, Nendeln-Liechtenstein: Kraus, 1979 [reprint], 104.

¹⁶ See for example Hugh of Foilly, who associated this temperament with the age of adolescence: 'Est autem similis igni, aestati, calidae iuventuti: haec enim sunt calidae et siccae naturae. Ut habeas ex cholera rubra amaritudinem contra peccatum, ex iuventute fortitudinem contra diabolum, ex igne claritatem intelligentiae cognoscendi deum, ex aestate ardorem diligenti proximum. (...) Quanto enim plus abundant charitas, tanto plus odio habetur iniquitas', Hugh of Foilly, *De medicina animae*, c. V, Sp. 1188 D–1189 A (Patrologia Latina 176), see Harald Derschka, *Individuum und Persönlichkeit im Hochmittelalter*, Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 2014, 108–111, esp. 109.

¹⁷ Joannes Hugo Wyttenbach, Michael Franciscus Josephus Müller, ed., *Gesta Trevirorum Integra Lectionis Varietate et Animadversionibus Illustrata ac Indice Duplici Instructa*, vol. 2, Treviri 1838, 273–274.

¹⁸ See Richard Laufner, 'Die Ausbildung des Territorialstaates der Kurfürsten von Trier', in: Hans Patze, ed., *Der Deutsche Territorialstaat im 14. Jahrhundert*, vol. 2, Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1971, 127–147; Jacobs, 'Kuno von Falkenstein', 27–28.

times of crisis or attack.¹⁹ It is therefore not a coincidence that the description of Kuno's appearance was introduced directly after this account, and not incidentally, characteristics such as grandeur, magnificence, wisdom, and anger have here been emphasized – characteristics that seem to suit a monarch better than a churchman. It is this 'secular' literary image of Kuno, to which the metaphor of a lion is subordinated. A lion is here recalled as a traditional medieval figure of justice, power and courage.²⁰ It is worthwhile in this context to mention a Middle-High-German poem entitled *Annolied*, written in honor of Anno II (d. 1075), bishop of Cologne, who, similarly to Kuno von Falkenstein, exercised not only ecclesiastic but also secular authority (in 1062–64, in the absence of the Emperor Henry IV, he acted as regent of the Holy Roman Empire). In the poem, created ca. 1080, the bishop is presented as a genuine ruler, governing over all the dukes in the Empire, and as such, he is compared to a lion who shows his strength to foolish people and demonstrates his friendship to the good.²¹ The idea of the metaphor is similar to the one, we encounter in the description of Kuno: in some instances an ecclesiastic is obliged to undertake tasks of a secular ruler in order to provide the people with welfare and protection. Thus, Kuno appears as *leo rugiens*, a clergyman and a sovereign ruler who, when he learns of injustice burns with just anger so that 'his face suffuses with sweat and blood'.²²

The image of Kuno that emerges from the *Limburg Chronicle* is unequivocal: Kuno is a brave, courageous and just man; he is gifted with all the qualities necessary to exercise power, and not accidentally, these qualities became apparent in his external appearance. Tilemann von Wolphagen carefully noted the archbishop's facial features and paid attention to his stature and behaviour not only out of curiosity, but also because he sees in Kuno a genuine ruler – a person

¹⁹ 'Den vurgenanten hern Conen glichen ich der dogent di da heißet sterke, als da sprichet Aristoteles in dem dretten buche Ethicorum 3: „Fortitudo est aggressio terribilium, ubi mors videtur imminere, ad salvandum commune bonum'. Daz saltu vursten also: Der dogende ein heißet sterke, di plihet stritlicher werke; daz si irlose di gemeine gut, darzu stellet si iren mut', Wyss, *Die Limburger Chronik*, 50, similarly in *Gesta Trevirorum*: 'Terra illa hostili invasione liberata, pacem faciens venerabili domino Bohemundo denuntiavit. Cui congratulans dominus Bohemundus, Deum laudavit, qui sibi talem hominem [that is, Kuno's – M.G.] in coadjutorem dedit', Wyttenbach and Müller, *Gesta Trevirorum*, 274.

²⁰ On a lion in a context of the medieval literary tradition see Dirk Jäckel, *Der Herrscher als Löwe. Ursprung und Gebrauch eines politischen Symbols im Früh- und Hochmittelalter*, Köln-Weimar-Wien: Böhlau 2006.

²¹ 'Als ein lewo saz her vur din vuristin, / als ein lamb gîn her untir diurfigin. / den tumbin was her sceirphe, / den gûtin was er einste. / weisin unti widewin, / die lobitin wole sînin sidde', Eberhard Nellmann, ed., *Das Annolied*, (Mittelhochdeutsch und Neuhochdeutsch), Stuttgart: Reclam, 1996, 46, c. 34, v. 591, f. 596, see also German translation: 'Wie ein Löwe präsiidierte er den Fürsten, / wie ein Lamm ging er unter den Armen. / Gegen die Unverständigen war er Streng, / gegen die Guten wohlwollend. / Weisen und Witwen / lobten seine Handlungsweise sehr', after: Jäckel, *Der Herrscher*, 42.

²² 'Unde wart her Cone von Falkenstein gar sere geworfen, daz ime sin antlitze mit sweiße unde blude ran', Wyss, *Die Limburger Chronik*, 50; on the metaphor of a 'roaring lion' see Jäckel, *Der Herrscher*, 188–194.

destined to perform the duties of his office. It is therefore justified to suspect that the manner in which he perceives the archbishop resembles the official image created by Kuno himself. This conjuncture can explain not only the reason why the archbishop's individualized face was placed in many works of art rather than the conventionalized one, but also why it was indebted to the figure of the elector of Trier from the *Schöner Brunnen* in Nuremberg (fig. 3), the execution of which, if Franz Ronig's assumption is correct, might have come about with Kuno's input.²³ Kuno appears in this context as the superior of a sovereign political entity (the Electorate of Trier), and, as he himself expressed it during the trial performed in the presence of Holy Roman Emperor Charles IV, as 'an outright Sire and administrator.'²⁴ The role that an individualized physiognomy played in the propaganda of Kuno von Falkenstein is indeed comparable to the function it played in the apparatus of representation of contemporary secular rulers, such as Charles V, the king of France²⁵ and the above mentioned Charles IV.²⁶ An individualized physiognomy served as a mirror in which the personal virtues of the archbishop and the Elector were reflected, and as such it enriched other, traditional forms of identification including signs and symbols.

With such concepts in mind, we might take special care in examining Kuno's full-page portrait with a dedication found in Pericop's book in the Trier cathedral treasury (fol. 2v). The archbishop is shown in full majesty of his power – in pontifical vestments, seated on a throne composed of two lions and two eagles under which two shields with emblems of the archbishopric of Trier and family of Falkenstein are situated (fig. 2). In his left hand Kuno holds a crosier, his right is raised in a gesture of benediction. In the rectangular frame surrounding the entire image there is an inscription that indicates Kuno as a founder of the book: 'Cuno de falenstein: archiepiscopus treverensis hunc librum fieri fecit anno domini

²³ Ronig, 'Die Bildnisse', 213.

²⁴ 'Von eirst so sprechen ich, daz ich bin und ein iglich ertzbischoff zu Trire eyn herre und voyt und ein geistlich und werentlich herre zu Trire. Und die stad zu Trire hait mynen furfarn und mir gehuldet und zu den heiligen gesworn als irem rechten herren. Und daz beide gerichte, geistlich und werentlich und waz darzu gehoret an geistlichen und werentlichen sachen, myn sin und myns stifts zu Trire.... Zu dem andern sprechen ich, daz der stroum von der Museln, der lynpat zu beiden siten und daz geleide, wiltban und alle herschaft uff der Musel vor Trire und oben und nieden Trire myn und myns stifts sint und han die von dem heiligen romischen riche...', after: Laufner, 'Die Ausbildung', 127–128, see also Jacobs, 'Kuno von Falkenstein', 39–40.

²⁵ On portraits of Charles V see Claire Richter Sherman, *The Portraits of Charles V of France (1338-1380)*, New York: New York University Press, 1969; eadem, 'Representations of Charles V of France (1338-1380)', *Medievalia et Humanistica*, 2, 1971, 86–87; Jennifer L. Fields-Crow, 'Controlling Images: Portraits of Charles V as Representations of His Political Agenda in Fourteenth Century France', *Athanasior*, 12, 1994, 27–33, see also Donal Byrne, 'Rex imago Dei: Charles V of France and the Livre de propriétés de choses', *Journal of Medieval History*, 7, 1, 1981, 97–113.

²⁶ See Robert Suckale, 'Die Porträts Kaiser Karls IV. als Bedeutungsträger', in: Martin Büchsel, Peter Schmidt, eds, *Das Porträt vor der Erfindung des Porträts*, Mainz: Philipp von Zabern Verlag, 2003, 198–203.



Figure 4 Imperial seal of Louis the Bavarian, in use 1314-47

millesimo cccmo octuagesimo die octava mensis maij.' Already in 1907 Stephan Beissel noted that the portrait in question must have been modelled on the imperial seal of Louis the Bavarian (fig. 4),²⁷ and indeed, as Hans-Joachim Jacobs put it, 'the dedication image in Kuno's luxurious manuscript is a ruler's image.'²⁸ The eagles posed similarly to those shown on Louis's seal emphasize the status of Kuno as a member of the empire's highest council of decision-makers, to which only the Holy Roman King and electors were included. It is difficult to say whether the same attitude towards the lions which is seen in Louis's seal is maintained here; scholars assume that the composition of the imperial seal, showing the lions crushed by the eagles was intentional, thus signalling their combat and making reference to Louis's conflict with the houses of Welf or Anjou (whose emblems also contained a lion).²⁹

²⁷ Stephan Beissel, 'Das Evangelienbuch des Kurfürsten Kuno von Falkenstein im Dom zu Trier (1380)', *Zeitschrift für Christliche Kunst*, 20, 1907, 164, see also Margot Remy, 'Die Buchmalerwerkstatt des Trierer Erzbischofs Kuno von Falkenstein', *Trierische Zeitschrift*, 4, 1929, 55-56; Suckale, *Die Hofkunst*, 171, footnote 2; Jacobs, 'Kuno von Falkenstein', 34, 36-40; Beier 2003, pp. 49-50.

²⁸ „Das Widmungsbild in Kunos prachthandschrift ist ein Herrscherrbildnis', Jacobs, 'Kuno von Falkenstein', 39.

²⁹ On the motif as seen in the seals of Louis the Bavarian see Heinz Thomas, *Ludwig der Bayer (1282-1347). Kaiser und Ketzer*, Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1993, p. 251; Eugen Hillebrand, 'Ecce sigilli faciem: Das Siegelbild als Mittel politischer Öffentlichkeitsarbeit im 14. Jahrhundert', in: Konrad Krimm, John Herwig, ed., *Bild und Geschichte. Studien zur politischen Ikonographie. Festschrift für Hansmartin Schwarzmaier, zum fünfundsiebzigsten Geburtstag*, Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1997, 53-77, see also Peter Wolf, Evamaria Brockhoff, Elisabeth Handle-Schubert, Andreas Th. Jell, Barbara Six, ed., *Ludwig der Bayer. Wir sind Kaiser!*, exhib. cat., Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2014, no. 3.33, the motif of an eagle who crushes a



Figure 5 Initial pages of *Pericopes of Kuno von Falkenstein*, fols. 2v-3r, *Pericopes of Kuno von Falkenstein*, Trier, Treasury of the Cathedral

In Kuno's case, however, positive associations with a lion – an animal *par excellence* suitable for a sovereign ruler – are much more probable as here the lion was an animal that could be easily connected with the biblical description of Solomon's throne in which it symbolizes wisdom and the rule of law.³⁰ What is more – as Christine Beier points out – the portrait of Kuno created in the *Pericope* book, forms part of a broader tradition of illuminated dedication pages. As such, it is combined with a pericope from the gospel of Matthew relating how Christ sent forth two of his disciples after a donkey and a colt (Mt 21, 1-11), written on an adjacent page (fol. 3r). The story traditionally opened pericope books, and in this particular manuscript it has been provided with exceptionally rich illuminations. Besides a scene illustrating the biblical event which fills the initial, the entire text is surrounded by a frame with images of angels playing musical instruments (fig. 5). Some of them, however, those on the left side of the page and close to Kuno's portrait, instead of instruments hold a crosier, a book, a mitre, coats of arms of the archbishopric of Trier and (above the initial) shields with emblems of the Falkenstein family and, again, those of the archbishopric of Trier.³¹ Thus, into the decoration accentuating the liturgical function of the book, the patron's signs were introduced on an adjacent page. This indicates that Kuno von Falkenstein's portrait should not be viewed in

lion appears also in illuminated initials of imperial charters, see Wolf, Brockhoff, Handle-Schubert, Jell, *Six Ludwig der Bayer*, 203–208, nos. 4.1 e, f, g, h., the motif in the portrait of Kuno von Falkenstein in the *Perikopes* has been discussed in: Jacobs, 'Kuno von Falkenstein', 38–39.

³⁰ *Liber I Regum*, 10, 19, see Jäckel, *Der Herrscher*, 153.

³¹ Beier, *Buchmalerei*, 50, 67–68.

isolation from its most proximate context. With this in mind, it is worth noting that instead of appearing as a donor asking God or a saint for supplication (a common custom in the decoration of dedication scenes), Kuno has been shown in a manner that recalls seal images – he is faced frontally, seated on a throne, with coats of arms and an inscription set within a frame.

The Ottonian *Codex Egberti* (Ms. 24, Trier, Stadtbibliothek), in which some of the illuminations were precisely imitated in the Falkenstein pericopes, may have influenced the conceptual development of Kuno's portrait. Egbert, Kuno's predecessor on the Trier archbishop's throne, is sat on a *faldistorium* or faldstool, with legs folded on a *suppedaneum* and his head is surrounded by a square halo. He reaches out with one hand to receive a book from a monk called Keraldus, and in another he holds a crosier. As Beier has aptly indicated, the entire scene is composed in a manner suggesting that the act of donating the manuscript to the archbishop was less important than the image of the patron, here shown in the full majesty of his office.³² The portrait of Kuno should be interpreted similarly, for 'using the imperial type of seal as a model, the function of the manuscript as a symbol of spiritual power of Trier's archbishop was underlined, and from which, due to the elector's office, grew a considerable temporal power'.³³ Thus, irrespective of how much the secular scope of the archbishop's power was emphasized, its foundations are fixed in the hierarchy of the holy church, whose representative is Kuno, a hierarchy which, first and foremost, derives from God. The carrier of the message is therefore not only the image shown in a manuscript page, but also the manuscript itself. The archbishop's individualized physiognomy, 'impressed' in the book as in a sealing wax expresses a perpetual bond and union of the individual figure of Kuno and the everlasting office of the archbishop of Trier.

Kuno's likeness on his tombstone in St. Castor's church in Koblenz should be viewed in a similar manner (fig. 1). The tomb, as Barbara Bott has observed, merges in itself two medieval types of tomb: the type of a figural tomb with a sculpted representation of the archbishop and the type of a wall tomb attached to a niche.³⁴ A sumptuous *gisant* of the archbishop represents the deceased *in pontificalibus*, and with the insignia of his office. Above its head is a richly decorated baldachin, while the feet rest on animal figures. This mode of representation conforms very well to a type of curial tomb that spread around Europe during the fourteenth century. It was particularly popular among hierarchs closely related to the papal curia in Avignon, and for this reason, antecedences for Falkenstein's burial can be found in France.³⁵ From among numerous tombs of this type, the tombstones of Raymond

³² Beier, *Buchmalerei*, 50–51.

³³ 'Die Verwendung eines von Kaisern benutzten Siegeltyps als Vorlage unterstreicht die Funktion der Handschrift als Symbol für die geistliche Hoheit des Trierer Erzbischofs, aus der durch die Kurfürstenwürde auch eine beachtliche weltliche Macht erwuchs', Beier, *Buchmalerei*, 51.

³⁴ Bott, 'Das Grabmal', 250.

³⁵ On this subject see Julian Gardner, *The Tomb and the Tiara. Curial Tomb Sculpture in Rome and Avignon in the later Middle Ages*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992, 133–164.



Figure 6 Tomb of Kuno von Falkenstein, ca. 1388, Koblenz, St. Castor

Figure 7 Tombstone of Balduin of Luxemburg, after 1354, Trier, Cathedral

d'Aigrefeuille (d. 1361) at the Rodez cathedral³⁶ and Hugues de Chatillon (d. 1352) at the cathedral of Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges³⁷ come to mind. This type had also been adopted from an early stage in the Rhine area, testified by the tomb of Walram von Jülich (d. 1346), the archbishop of Cologne, whose style owes much to contemporary Parisian sculpture.³⁸ The characteristic feature of cosmopolitanism seen in Kuno's sarcophagus indeed distinguishes many tombs of church leaders and goes hand-in-hand with other elements which in turn can be identified in a local tradition. The architectonic articulation of the tomb – a series of narrow, lancet niches crowned by pinnacles and finials, and covered with sculptural decoration – seems to make a reference to the tombstone of Balduin of Luxemburg (d. 1354), Kuno's great predecessor of the Trier archbishopric (fig. 6 and 7).³⁹ Particularly

³⁶ Gardner, *The Tomb*, 149, footnote 96, ill. 197; Caroline de Barrau-Agudo, 'Reposer en la cathédrale. Les sépultures et les tombeaux des évêques de Rodez (XIIIe-XVIe siècles): tradition et innovation au service de la mémoire épiscopale', in: Nicolas Bock, Ivan Foletti, Michele Tomasi, eds, *L' évêque, l' image et la mort. Identité et mémoire au Moyen Âge*, Roma: Viella, 233–234

³⁷ Michèle Pradalier-Schlumberger, *Toulouse et le Languedoc. La sculpture gothique, XIIIe-XIVe siècles*, Toulouse: Presses Universitaires du Mirail, 1988, 329–245; Gardner, *The Tomb*, 146, ill. 185.

³⁸ Michael Viktor Schwarz, *Höfische Skulptur im 14. Jahrhundert. Entwicklungsphasen und Vermittlungswege im Vorfeld des Weichen Stils*, 2 vols., Worms: Wernersche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1986, 78–79; Stefan Heinz, Barbara Rothbrust, Wolfgang Schmid, *Die Grabdenkmäler der Erzbischöfe von Trier, Köln und Mainz*, Trier: Kliomedia, 2004, 111.

³⁹ On Balduin's tomb see Franz J. Ronig, 'Kunst unter Balduin von Luxemburg', in: Johannes Mötsch, Franz-Josef Heyen, eds, *Balduin von Luxemburg. Erzbischof von Trier – Kurfürst des*

important is the very choice of placing the entire burial site within a niche. This should be interpreted as a conscious reference to a specific tradition commemorating Trier's archbishops. The tradition was established by the tomb of the cardinal legate Ivo, who died in Trier in 1142 during his stay in the town. The tomb, preserved to this day, is in the form of an architectonic niche carved within a wall, and was erected by the then archbishop of Trier, Albero of Montreuil (d. 1152). By doing so, he not only commemorated Ivo, but also made reference to an Italian type of tomb, thus presenting Trier as a *Roma secunda*. It is highly likely that his own tomb had a similar form, though it has been preserved fragmentarily (its current appearance is a result of nineteenth-century restorations). This type refers to a number of later tombs of Trier's archbishops: in the mid-thirteenth century the joint tomb of the archbishops Udo von Nellenburg (d. 1078), Egilbert von Ortenburg (d. 1101) and Bruno von Bretten (d. 1124) was executed in the form of three semicircular niches, and around 1300 the tomb of archbishop Heinrich von Fistingen (d. 1286) was created, in which a *gisant* of the deceased was attached to the niche with a gothic, pointed arch (now lost, its remnants have been found during recent excavations).⁴⁰ The choice of form for Kuno von Falkenstein's tomb was therefore by no means accidental – situating his burial place within a niche Kuno referred to the local tradition, and thus emphasized the stability and antiquity of his office.⁴¹ This was for him of particular importance, for – unlike his predecessors – he could not organize the place of his interment in the cathedral church in Trier. Since 1377 Kuno was in permanent conflict with Trier's city council and resided outside the city. And for this reason he chose as his final resting place the *Kastorkirche* in near Koblenz.⁴²

The remarkably individualized sculpted physiognomy of Kuno appears in this context as an innovative addition that supplements a codified system of signs, symbols and references, including the tomb type, the costume, insignia, and so forth. As such it does not bare any ostensible semantic value, but rather signals the connection of the individual person of Kuno with his archbishopric position. It is this context, in which its astonishing realism, transcending standards of common

Reiches 1285-1354. Festschrift aus Anlass des 700. Geburtsjahres, Mainz: Verlag der Gesellschaft für Mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte, 1985, 511; Wolfgang Schmid, Michael Viktor Schwarz, 'Jenseitsfürsorge und Hausmachtpolitik. Erzbischof Balduins Tumba im Trierer Dom', in: Michael Viktor Schwarz, ed., *Grabmäler der Luxemburger: Image und Memoria eines Kaiserhauses*, Luxemburg: Cludem, 1997, 97–122.

⁴⁰ See Franz J. Ronig, 'Die Ausstattung', in: Franz J. Ronig, ed., *Der Trierer Dom*, (Rheinische Verein für Denkmalpflege und Landschaftsschutz, Jahrbuch 1978/1979), Neuss: Rheinische Verein für Denkmalpflege und Landschaftsschutz, 1980, 231–362; Heinz, Rothbrust, Schmid, *Die Grabdenkmäler*, 36–41, see also Stefan Heinz, Barbara Rothbrust, Wolfgang Schmid, 'Unternehmen Traditionsbildung: die Grabmäler der Rheinischen Erzbischöfe (976-1768) zwischen Memoria, Repräsentation und Geschichtskonstruktion', *Francia – Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschichte*, 31, 1, 2004, 165–180; Michael Vitktor Schwarz, 'Flet Roma, flet undique Trevir. Grabmalstiftungen und Grabmal des Trierer Erzbischofs Albero (1131-1152): Sepulkrale Repräsentation nach dem Investiturstreit', *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 51, 1998, 9–31.

⁴¹ See Heinz, Rothbrust, Schmid, *Die Grabdenkmäler*, 46–48.

⁴² Bott, 'Das Grabmal', 250.

artistic production, should be viewed.⁴³ The author of the figure, a deeply talented Rhenish sculptor, did not limit himself to duplicating a type of round face with plump cheeks; rather, he made an attempt to render the archbishop's real facial features in which traces of his advanced age are clearly seen. Even the presence of the swollen vein on the temple is evidence of the mimetic accuracy of the image, for it can be associated with a real disease – aneurysm or temporal arteritis – that can occur in this anatomical place.⁴⁴ The fascination with the individual traits of Kuno's physiognomy shared by the author of his tomb parallels, to some degree, the physiognomic interest expressed by Tilemann von Wolfhagen in his *Limburg Chronicle*. A gifted sculptor working for the archbishop (and, hence, probably well aware of his external appearance), and likely fulfilling his patron's expectations (suggested by the presence of Kuno's individualized likenesses in other works created for him), was at pains to execute his likeness faithfully. The authenticity of Kuno's sculpted physiognomy is increased also by his half-closed eyes which lend an impression of the presence of the deceased in his bodily form. It was this carnality of the figure – a corporal specificity that referred to character traits, temperaments and virtues – that was to have characterized the deceased while still alive. Thus, not only were the legal and political dimensions of Kuno's power emphasized, but also those of universal and godly character expressed in specific individual qualities, identifiable with Kuno (i.e., those stemming from the inalienable law of God, apparent in his body, and particularly in his face), indeed qualities that predestined him to the office of archbishop of Trier.

Mateusz Grzęda received his PhD in Art History from the Jagiellonian University in Cracow in 2014 and since 2017 has been assistant professor at the Institute of Art History of the same University. Historian of medieval art, his research concentrates on portraiture and representation in the later Middle Ages and the Renaissance with special focus on Central Europe. His book about the origins of portraiture in Late Medieval Central Europe is about to be printed.

mateusz.grzed@uj.edu.pl



This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/)

⁴³ The realism of the portrait under review has been already pointed out by Harald Keller and Kurt Bauch, see Keller, 'Die Entstehung', 350 and Kurt Bauch, *Das Mittelalterliche Grabbild. Figürliche Grabmäler des 11. bis 15. Jahrhunderts in Europa*, Berlin-New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1976, 247–248.

⁴⁴ See Bott, 'Das Grabmal', 250, who has written: „Die Arteria temporalis an der linken Schläfe, die kräftig herausgetreten ist, signalisiert eine Krankheit, die mit Kopfschmerz verbunden ist. Die Ader hat der Lebenden so stark geprägt, daß sie auch nach der Tod sichtbar blieb oder als Erkennungsmerkmal ihn besonders charakterisieren sollte', see also Ronig, 'Die Bildnisse', 211.

